SEASONABLE

MEMENTO

Both to

King and People

Upon this

CRITICAL JUNCTURE

O F

AFFAIRES.

Nullo modo eis Artibus placatur Divina Majestas, quibus Humana Dignitas inquinatur. Aug. de Civ. Dei.

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SEASONABLE Memento, &c.

T is grown into a Custom (I know) to smooth the way for the Grosse of the Subject in Agitation, by some preliminary Apology or Complement to the Courteous Reader; but yet, for reasons best known to my self, I shall at this time pass over the Ceremonious Flourish of an Introduction, and without Welt or Guard (as they say) fall upon my Province, which is to make out, That neither upon pretext of Religion, Personal Vices, Excesses in Government, or any other Colour whatsoever, the Subjects of the Crown of England may withdraw their Obedience, or make Hostile Resistance to King Charles our present Sovereign; being by right of Inberitance justly possess of the Crown; his Title no way depending either upon his Divine or Moral Virtues; and the said Subjects having received him, and acknowledged him for their Only Supreme Governour, done him Homage, and sworn to him Faith and Allegeance, Absolutely and without Condition.

A S for other Princes and Potentates, whether Elective Kingdoms, or such as (at the Erection of them) were received by the First King upon Express Covenant, and only with a Conditional Obedience; (as is pretended by those of Aragon, and Others;) of These I shall not here discourse. Neither shall I speak of those A 2

Kings and Princes who acknowledge (in Spiritual Matters) a Superiour Jurisdiction in the Pope over them; who further stickleth (by necessary Relation and Dependency of the Temporal upon the Spiritual) to have also a Temporal Power over them, in ordine ad. Spiritualia; And hath often put this his Claim in Practice, by accompanying his Spiritual Censure of Excommunication, with the Sentence-of discharging Subjette-of their Obedience to their Princes. and so consequently of Deposing them. Herewith I shall not meddle; None of These Cases being applicable to This in question of King Charles, who is no Eletive King, but holdeth his Crown by an Unquestionable Title of Succession, deriv'd to him by Descent from his Ancestours, for the space of more than Six hundred years: Neither was there ever any Pall or Condition with Him, or any of his Progenitours, of Forfenure; (which in This Cafe neither mus, nor ever ean be justly pretended.) True it is, that his Ancestours and Himself have been pleased to limit and restrain their Legal Right by many Concessions and Laws, in some Cases; as the making of Laws without Confent of Peers and People, the Levying of Money, &cc. which he cannot Violate without great Injustice, as shall be after flown: But no fuch Patt or Covenant can be produced. whereby, upon Breach, he Forfeiteth his Sovereignty, or maketh it Inftifiable for his Subjeds to take up Arms againft, or to inflict Punishments upon his Person, either by Dethroning, Death, or Imprisonment:

THE Case likewise of Roman Catholick Princes no way concerneth Him, who acknowledgeth not in a Pope any such Superious Authority: So that whatsoever Pretences may be in some Cases, concerning such Princes as I have above specifyed; (wherein I shall not presume to deliver my Opinion) yet in the Present Case of Our King, there can be no colourable Pretence of taking Arms against Him, or of Deposing Him; which I understand to be (in effect) when he is divested of his Just Regal Power; Or of the Imprisoning of his Person, which I understand to be not only when he is actually in Bonds, or lockt up in a Room; but also when the Liberty of Going, and the Freedom of Speaking is restrained, to such Places, or Persons, as Others shall please; and he remain under a Guard, not of his Own chusing, but imposed upon him by Others.

IT must be acknowledged, that the Kings of England derive their Title and Right from William the Norman; who, although he came in by Conquest, yet his Successors (considering that a Right Acquir'd by Force, may likewise be Recover'd by Force, by those upon whom the forcible Intrusion was made) were pleased, by way of Past and Stipulation, to limit and qualify that (Imperium Absolutum) Absolute Dominion which is acquired by Conquest: And the People of England thereupon did submit themselves to his Government; and thereby was Constituted Imperium Legitimum, a Just and Rightfull Sovereignty; the Kings remaining with Supreme Power, and the People with Common Right; whereby they were freed from the Servitude of Conquest, and remain'd under a Free Subjection; whereunto they had by their voluntary Consent submitted themselves.

THE Kings likewise did recede from Absolute and Arbitrary Power, and remain'd with Supreme, but not with Absolute Empire.

BY Free Subjection, I understand when a People live under Laws to which they have given a Free Consent, and not under the Meer will of the Prince; and that they retain such a Propriety in that which is their Own, that without Their Assent, or Legal Forfeiture, it cannot be taken from them: And this is a true difference betwixt a Free Subject, and a Slave or Servant. Quiequid acquirit Servus, acquirit Domino; Liber, quod acquirit, acquirit Sibl; Whatsoever a Slave gets, he gets for his Master; but what a Freeman gets, is for Himself. And so although the Dominion of All belongs solely to the Prince, yet Propriety refers to Every man; Dominium Totim apud Casarem, Proprietas apud Singulos.

THE Difference that I understand betwixt a Supreme, and an Absolute Empire, is, That in Absolute Empire the Rule of the Peoples Obedience is onely the Sovereigns Will. So it is in Turky, Muscowy, and all such Princes as retein Entire the Right of Conquest; and was in some sort under the Roman Emperous after the Lex Regia was established by the Peoples Consent; whereby they transferred their Entire Right unto Him.

Supreme Empire I understand to be, when a King has a Supremacy and Sovereignty over all, but his Absolute Power is limited and restrein'd by reciprocal Pasts, Laws, and Stipulations betwixt A 3

Prince and People; which is the Cafe of the Crown of England: and to these Polis the King and People are equally bound before God and man; and the King is as much bound to fuffice, to the Protection of his Subjects, and to the Observance of the Laws, (not onely out of Religion, but even of Morall Honesty also) as the Subjed is to Obedience. And he is not onely accountable to God, but even his People have certain Just and Legal wayes to seek Redrefs, wherein he shall do Wrong; notwithstanding that Axiome of our Common Law, That the King can do no Wrong; which is falle in many fenses, and may very well be call'd Fictio Juris, a kind of Metaphyficall Fiction: Le Roy ne fait Tort, being onely to be understood in the ordinary Course of Justice; which the King administring by his Ministers, and not in Person, it is They that are the Wrong-doers, and not the King; and the Subject, against Them, is to feek his Remedy. For Kings may do Wrong, and be as wicked as Other men, commit Murther, and wrongfully take away Other mens Estates; which no Fidion of the Law can make not to be Wrong; although his Person be exempt from Punishment. And that Abstract Consideration of the King, for his just Power and Office, as it hath often, Heretofore, been ill us'd in way of Oftentation; fo,in our Late Troubles, there was as ill use made of it, on the Other hand; when the taking up Arms and the Fighting against him, was pretended not to be against the KING, but onely against CHARLES STUART. But (to speak in plain Intelligible Terms) a King both may do Wrong, and the People may feek their Redress, in such fort as the Law of the Land allowes. And the difference betwixt King and Peoples Failing in their Reciprocall Duties, is not but that they do wrong alike, offend God alike, and are both of them liable to be question'd, according to the Extent of the Law, by both their Consents establish'd. The Subjetts transgreffing the Law, shall be punish'd according to the quality and measure of the Offence: Felony, by the Loss of their Goods and Chattles, and by a Milder Death; Treason by a more Severe Death, and Confication both of Goods and Inheritance. But hereof they must be Convict, per Pares, by People of their own Condition, and adjudg'd by a Superiour Jurisdiation; which can be deriv'd Onely and Singly from the King. So that the King, not having his Peer, nor any of his Own Condition, cannot have a Legal Tryall; and having no Jurisdidion Superiour to HimHimfelf, cannot be Adjudg'd or Sentene'd by any : for neither the Extent of the Law, nor any Condition of the Patit, or Stipulation, do reach to the Punishing of the Person of the King, or the Forfeiture of his Dominion over us. Certain it is that (in Civill things) Tryalls may be, (and often are) brought against the King; and Kings do give way that the Judges be fworn to do Equal Inflice betwixt Them and their Subjects: and in points of Oppreffion and wrong, we may Remonstrate our Grievances, and challenge Redress by our Petitions; which, if they be not condescended unto, we may infift upon them as our Right, and claim them as a Due, and not as of Grace: But yet we must do it by way of Petision, as being a Dutifull Form of Subjeds bringing their Ples against the King; for in other fort He ought not to be Impleaded. Befide these Petitions of Right, we may also Remonstrate, enter our Protestations, and take all those Courses which the Laws allow. Neither ought the King to take Offence at thefe Legall Contestations with him; because, by his Affent unto the Laws, he hath Affented unto Them: Nay he ought, in Them, to do us Right; being oblig'd thereunto by the Law of God, by his Oath, and by Morall Honesty and Juffice. But yet if he fail in all these Duties, Our Jurisdiction reacheth not to his Personall Punishment. Therein he is Sub Nullo nifi fub Deo, under none but God; and the Law flops There, and tells us, Satis sufficit ei ad panam, quod Deum babet Ulterem, that it will be a sufficient punishment to him that he hath God for an Avenger. Yet are we not altogether left without Remedy; for Kings although they be God's Vice-gerents, yet they cannot work as God does, faying Fiat, and it was done; Kings must work by Mediate Instruments; and if they command Illegal Things, the Executioners of them are Responsible, and must make satisfaction to the Parties injur'd. And therefore the King ought not Immediately to Imprison, nor in Person to Execute any thing; because that in case of Wrong-doing, the Subject would then be destitute of all means of Redress, in regard the King's Person is not to be Impleaded by Law. I know the usual Objections, In ease Kings will do that which they ought not to do. and will, by their own immediate Warrants Commit, and be the Personal Allowrs of the Injuries, or not Suffer the Executioners of their Illegal Commands to be Legally proceded against , shall the Subjed be left wholly without Remedy, and debarr'd the Benefit of that Right

'Right of Nature, in bred in all Creatures, of felf Preservation? Yes; we must be contented with that Condition wherein God hath placed us; and wherein, by our Own Consents, and Stipulations of Subjection, We have placed our selves; and may onely right our selves by those means which, by the Laws, (whereunto we have given our Consent) are permitted unto us: Neither is our Native Liberty hereby ravish'd from us; but as we have parted with it by our own Voluntary agreement, so neither can we resume it, but by those wayes which we have referv'd in the Stipulations of our Submiffion. And belide that herein there is no Injury, for that Volenti non fit Injuria; it would be more Hurtfull to Mankind, if it were Otherwise: for there is a necessity that in all forts of Governments, as well as in Monarchy, there should be an Impunity, and Power, somewhere, of not being question'd; otherwise all would be hurl'd into Anarchy and Confusion; Neither could there be any finall Determination of Controversies, if there were not a Derniere Ressort, and Last Appeal, wherein we are bound to Acquiefce. Now this Power must be trusted in some hand, and That must of necessity be, where the Sovereign Power remaineth; otherwife, there must be supposed a Superiour Power to that Sovereign Power, and so in Infinitum, untill we come to some such Power as hath nothing above it; and then That must be entrusted, and be submitted to, without being accountable to Any but to God; because on Earth there can be to it no Superiour Jurisdiction. And this Power is in the King of England in all things, such onely excepted, wherein Himself or his Ancestours have, by Laws and Stipulations, limited their Absolute Power; as was said before. And This we are by the Law of God, and of the Land, bound to Obey, and not to make any Refiftance, but what the Law alloweth us : We must, in the Reft, have recourse unto God, if our Princes be Wicked; neither may we Mutiny, or Repine at God, when we have I Kings, more than when he sendeth Diseases, Plagues, Caterpillars, Blightings or Blafts. For wicked Kings are but Blaftings of the People that God is pleas'd to Punish : neither must we think Our Condition worse than that of Wicked Kings; (notwiththanding their Temporal Impunity) for certainly it is much Better, both in regard of Punishment in the World to Come, and commonly in This. For the Next World as Their Sin is greater; fo it is declar'd that their Punishment shall be greater also, Hear, Oye Kings, and Under-

Understand, &c. Because, being Ministers of Gods Kingdom, you have not judg'd aright, nor kept the Law, nor walked after the Counsel of God; horribly and speedily shall be come upon you, for a sharp Judgment shall be to them that are in High Places, for Mercy will soon pardon the Meanest, but Mighty men shall be mightily Tormented. Wifd. 6. v. 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6. Whereas Subjects, who suffer with Patience, because they are so commanded by God, make him their Debtor by their Sufferings; and he always payeth faithfully, who faith, that if we fuffer with Christ, we shall also Reign with him. And for this World, their Wickedness and Oppression is still accompanied with these Fears, Destractions, and Horrors of Conscience, which have ever been inseparable from Tyrannies; by which their Lives are render'd more uncomfortable, than the Unhappiest of their Subjects. And for the most part, their Ends are as miserable as their Lives; for what they Fear, and by their Tyranny feek to prevent, doth commonly fall upon them: Their People do Revolt and Rebel; and although they be never so well Chatechized in the points of Obedience; yet their Natural Inclination to recover their Liberty, much more to cast off Unjust Burthens. and Oppressions, is such, that sleight and weak Arguments will eafily perswade them to that, whereunto they are so strongly inclined, and the least pretence of Religion, or Colour of Reason or Lawfulness, countenancing or tolerating the Freeing themselves from Subjection, in any Case, will be more prevalent with them, than the most passitive Precept of God's Word, enjoyning Obedience. If in any case taking up Arms be admitted, theirs shall ever be that Case. And if the Wickedness of their Prince shall be allow'd as a ground of their Rebellion, their Prince shall ever be the most Wicked: Of all this, all Ages have produced many Examples, and especially these Later Times, through all the Estates of Christendom. And wicked Princes will find, that Precepts in this case will not serve the Turn; for the Holtile Resultance against the King be expresly prohibited by the Word of God, both in the Old and New Teframent; tho it be against the Doctrine and Practice of the Primitive Church, and the present Tenets, and Confessions of Faith, of all the Reformed Churches in the World, though it be contrary :

trary to the Solemn Oath of Fidelity, and Allegiance Sworn to the King; rhe Laws of the Land (which make it Treason) and Moral Honelty and Justice; yet will it be in this point of Refiltance (as Tacitus lays of Divinations in Rome) which was a Wickedness that had been, and ever would be forbidden, vet ever would be Retained : Semper Vetabitur, & Semper retinebitur. And so to Princes that will highly Oppress, and make their Will, and not the Laws, the Rule of their Government, although (I fay) to refift be a Wickedness, and that it be against the Law of God and Man to do it; yet where the Wrongs are Great, and a Fair Opportunity offer'd of Prevailing, it will be ever done: For that amongst men, there are a Thousand for One, that prefer their own Interest or Inclination, before Duty or Conscience. And certainly, a Prudent and Foresteing Prince, that will impartially examine things, cannot but expect it should be so. For why should he suppose, that Other men will be more Honest, or more Religious than Himself? And when he breaks through all the Bonds and Ties of Oaths of Divine Precepts and Moral Justice, only to stretch and extend his Power and Greatness; why should we not expect, that Subjeds should make as bold to transgress the same Duties, in hope of Recovering Liberty; with even the False shere, whereof People are apter to be further transported, than by any Earthly Defire whatfoever? Neither will the Fear of Death or Danger restrain them; because they will not Attempt, untill Opportutunity make them hopeful of Prevailing; and then they confult by Power to provide for their own Impunities.

BUT besides this Proneness in People to be easily led and persuaded into Rebellion, under the sale and specious Shew of recovering Liberty; the great Monarchs and Princes of Christendom have been (in great part) the Fomenters and Upholders of it, and their Doctors have not so much by their Preaching and Wriing beaten it down, as the Kings themselves have, by their Examples and Astions, given Encouragement unto it; for although I shall ever speak with Reverence of Princes and their Proceedings, yet I shall hope that the humble Representation of this, Truth will receive a fair Interpretation. For it is undeniably true, that in this latter Age, all the great Monarchies and States

of Christendom have been render'd unhappy by Intestine Warrs, which have been encourag'd (if not contriv'd and design'd) by one Christian Prince against Another, every one countenancing and indulging Rebellion, untill it become his Own Case, and then he is offended. Of this I shall give no particular Instances, the Notariety of it is too great, and I fear every State may too easily apply it to what themselves have done: And it may be apprehended, that the sad Condition of many States of Christendom, at this present day, may exhibit something of Gods Judgments, upon that Account, who hath said; With what Measure ye mete,

it shall be measur'd to you again. Mat. 7. 12.

AND wicked Kings, as they are fure they shall not 'scape the severe Judgment of God in the next World (if they do believe the Scripture) so (if they will believe ancient Histories of what has past in former Times, or their own Experience of what they see daily with their Eyes; or that they do believe that God will repay unto them that which they have either countenanc'd or contriv'd against others) they must expect to have troublesome and uncomfortable Lives, accompany'd with Hatred, Hazzard, and Infamy. And if thefe Confiderations will not reftrain them, yet We must not be Wicked, because They are so: Neither will God admit of Recrimation for our Excuse. Our Duty of not refifting is Positive, upon pain of Damnatition; from which no good Success or Prevailing, can keep us, although it may fave us from the Gallows. Belide this great Hazard of our Souls, Moral Prudence teacheth us, that a Civil War which (I hope yet we have no great reason to fear) is commonly a Cure much worse than the Difease: For no Oppression nay no Tyramy, brings with it half those Miseries and Calamities, which of Necessity, do ever accompany an Intestine War. Wicked Kings may be cruel, covetous and licentious; yet their Oppressions and their Lusts are restrained to some Wickedneffes, and to some Persons: But in a War, Rapes, Murthers, Robberies, Sacriledges, and all manner of Impieties break in, and all forts of People are made miserable, which the poor Kingdom of England has found true by fad Experience; where, in the Space of five years only, (from 1641 to 1646) more was taken from the Subject, than would have been exacted by Subfidies Projects, or any unjust Taxes whatfo_

whatfoever, by the worst of Kings, in the Space of a Hundred and so were all other Wickednesses increas'd proportionably.

I SHALL conclude this Discourse with my humble and hearty. Prayers to God Almighty to avert his heavy Displeasure (which the Multitude of our Sins may give us just Cause to dread) from this Nation; at present the most prosperous and flourishing of any in Europe; and that the publick Calamities that befell the Kingdom in the late unhappy War, and the lamentable Distractions, and Confusions that were wrought by our Dissentions, both in Church and Commonwealth, may be a Lesson to the People to value and esteem Peace, and not so mantonly to engage themselves astresh in New Miseries.

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